



Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Violence in Danish and Finnish Families A Comparative Perspective

Ellonen, Noora; Kääriäinen, Juha; Sariola, Heikki; Helweg-Larsen, Karin; Larsen, Helmer Bøving

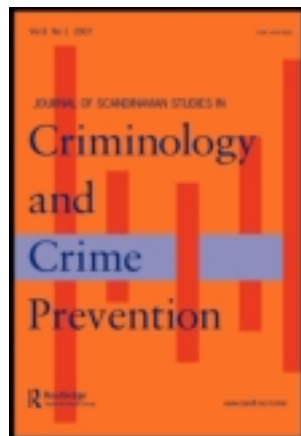
Published in:
Nordic Journal of Criminology

DOI:
[10.1080/14043858.2011.622076](https://doi.org/10.1080/14043858.2011.622076)

Publication date:
2011

Document version
Early version, also known as pre-print

Citation for published version (APA):
Ellonen, N., Kääriäinen, J., Sariola, H., Helweg-Larsen, K., & Larsen, H. B. (2011). Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Violence in Danish and Finnish Families: A Comparative Perspective. *Nordic Journal of Criminology*, 12(2), 173 - 197. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14043858.2011.622076>



Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/scri20>

Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Violence in Danish and Finnish Families: A Comparative Perspective

Noora Ellonen ^a, Juha Kääriäinen ^a, Heikki Sariola ^b, Karin Helweg-Larsen ^c & Helmer Bøving Larsen ^d

^a Police College of Finland, Tampere, Finland

^b Central Union for Child Welfare in Finland, Helsinki, Finland

^c National Institute of Public Health, Copenhagen, Denmark

^d University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

Available online: 02 Nov 2011

To cite this article: Noora Ellonen, Juha Kääriäinen, Heikki Sariola, Karin Helweg-Larsen & Helmer Bøving Larsen (2011): Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Violence in Danish and Finnish Families: A Comparative Perspective, Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention, 12:2, 173-197

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/14043858.2011.622076>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Full terms and conditions of use: <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden.

The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae, and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand, or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material.

Adolescents' Experiences of Parental Violence in Danish and Finnish Families: A Comparative Perspective

NOORA ELLONEN^{1*}, JUHA KÄÄRIÄINEN¹, HEIKKI SARIOLA², KARIN HELWEG-LARSEN³ AND HELMER BØVING LARSEN⁴

¹Police College of Finland, Tampere, Finland

²Central Union for Child Welfare in Finland, Helsinki, Finland

³National Institute of Public Health, Copenhagen, Denmark

⁴University of Copenhagen, Copenhagen, Denmark

Abstract

International comparative analyses enable the identification of specific, national criminal problems and the assessment of the effects of national prevention strategies. We compare the prevalence and a number of background factors of adolescents' experiences of parental violence between Denmark and Finland based on school surveys conducted among ninth-grade students in 2008: these were The Danish Youth Health Survey with 3,943 respondents and The Finnish Child Victim Survey with 5,762 respondents. Experiences of parental violence include being exposed to maternal or paternal

violence or being witness to violence against the mother or father at home. Overall, the prevalence of adolescents' experiences of parental psychological aggression and physical violence is relatively similar in Denmark and Finland. However, marked gender differences exist. Finnish girls more frequently report experiences of psychological aggression and physical violence than Danish girls, whereas Danish boys more frequently report experiences of psychological aggression than Finnish boys. Having witnessed physical violence against the mother or father and having been exposed to

parental violence are both more frequently reported by Finnish than Danish youth. In both countries, experiencing parental violence is more correlated to a number of family-associated factors, such as inter-parental fighting, little confidentiality between the youth and parents, and poor supervision of the youth, than to traditional socio-economic factors. The study article provides evidence on the context-related nature of violence experiences.

KEY WORDS: Cross-country comparison, Cross-country, Denmark, Finland, Intra-familial violence, Risk factors, Youth survey

Introduction

In recent years, a number of international studies have been conducted with the aim of identifying risk factors for criminal offences by comparing the prevalence of criminal acts in different countries and in different social contexts (Enzmann et al. 2010). These studies facilitate among other things an assessment of different prevention strategies (Enzmann et al. 2010; Peltonen et al. 2010). Two different types

of data have usually been used to compare countries on crime-related situations. First, international organizations, such as Interpol or the United Nations, provide official records on crime statistics. Second, there is some international survey data available (Enzmann et al. 2010).

Comparing criminal acts between countries is in general very challenging because legislation and the definitions of violence differ between countries. Efforts

to conduct comparative analyses between all kinds of countries are still important from a crime prevention point of view. Also, comparing very similar countries has been shown to be important in the light of revealing more detailed country-specific knowledge (Kivivuori 2007). In this article we will compare criminal acts between two very similar countries, Finland and Denmark. The Nordic countries offer an interesting comparative setting because of the contextual similarities. In the Nordic countries violence is consistently defined and legislated against, which makes it an easy area for comparison. Similarities are also to be found in the general social structure and special criminal justice culture. There is also empirical evidence on how comparisons of criminal acts between the Nordic countries provide important knowledge and are therefore seen to be important (Kivivuori 2007).

Some previous comparative analyses between Denmark and Finland involving violent acts already exist. Since the early 1980s, both countries have regularly conducted nationwide surveys to describe the prevalence and character of adults' exposure to different forms of physical violence and threats of violence (Balvig and Kyvsgaard 2006; Siren et al. 2007; van Dijk et al. 2007; Töyrä and Wigerholt 2008). Comparative analyses based on these data between Denmark and Finland have pointed to differences in contextual risk factors for victimization (EU ICS Working Paper 2007; van Dijk et al. 2007). Among adolescents, however, comparative analyses are rarer. There is a comparative analysis between all Nordic countries concerning adolescents' delinquent behaviour (Kivivuori 2007) and an EU-wide comparative analysis on

adolescents' risk of victimization outside the home (Enzmann et al. 2010), but comparative knowledge about the potential differences in adolescents' violence experiences at home does not exist.

In this article we will compare adolescents' violence experiences at home between Denmark and Finland. We report the prevalence of adolescents' experiences of parental violence at home and analyse correlations between violence exposure and witnessing inter-parental violence to a number of psycho-social factors based on self-report survey data collected in Denmark in 2009 and in Finland in 2008. By providing this descriptive basic knowledge from both countries our purpose is to seek national specific differences in these phenomena, which can be used in further research and policy-making.

Previous research on adolescents' violence experiences at home in Denmark and Finland

In Finland, the first survey focusing only on adolescents' victimization was conducted in 1988 by Sariola (1990). It included questions about both sexual abuse and physical violence. The data were collected among a representative sample of school classes in Finland and included 7,349 ninth-grade (15–16-year-old) respondents (Sariola 1990). Questions about violence exposure at home were modified from the Conflict Tactics Scale by Straus (1979). The survey showed that 72% of the pupils had sometimes experienced milder forms of physical violence and 8% had experienced severe violence. During the past 12 months, 47% of adolescents had experienced verbal aggression, 19% had been exposed to mild physical violence such as slapping or pushing, and 5% reported an experience

of severe physical violence (Sariola 1990; Sariola and Uutela 1992).

In Denmark, a nationwide youth survey about sexual abuse and violence was conducted in 2002 among a national representative sample of 6,203 ninth-graders (15–16 years old). It was inspired by the Finnish 1988 survey and a New Zealand youth survey in 2000 (Watson et al. 2001). The Danish survey used computer-assisted self-interviewing in school classes by audio-visual means (Audio-CASI) that improved the pupils' understanding of the questions and their interest in participating (Helweg-Larsen and Larsen 2002; Helweg-Larsen et al. 2004; Frederiksen et al. 2008). Danish boys reported more experiences of physical violence (12%) compared to girls (9%). On average 80% of boys' violence experiences were outside the family, whereas girls reported that 60% of their violence experiences had occurred inside the family. About 10% of all pupils had been hit, shaken, or pulled by the hair during conflicts with their parents, and about 5% had been threatened by more severe physical violence (Helweg-Larsen and Larsen 2002).

In these 1988 and 2002 studies the Finnish and Danish adolescents reported quite numerous violence experiences at home. These results were challenging from a policy point of view, given that violence against children was forbidden by law in both countries at the time of the surveys. Corporal punishment of children has been forbidden by law in Finland since 1984 and in Denmark since 1997. Also, the attitudes towards corporal punishment are challenging. In 2010 UNICEF conducted a Nordic survey about children's rights to participate, which included a question about children's attitudes towards corporal

punishment. The data were collected in 2009 and 2010 from 5,775 12–16-year-old children in all Nordic countries. According to these data, almost every third of the Finnish child respondents were of the opinion that physical punishment is acceptable to some extent. In the other Nordic countries the corresponding percentage is approximately ten. Danish and Norwegian respondents express the most negative attitude towards permitting physical punishment as a tool for parents (UNICEF 2010).

In 2006, the Nordic Council of Ministers financially supported an initiative by the Nordic national crime prevention councils and the Scandinavian Research Council of Criminology that aimed to encourage transnational comparisons on violence by a joint Nordic project: 'Violence and its reduction in the Nordic countries'. The purpose of the project was to promote crime-preventive/crime-reducing actions in the Nordic countries. One aim of the project was to create a set of jointly agreed measures of violence against children by the creation of a joint framework for Nordic youth surveys of the children's violence and abuse experiences (Helweg-Larsen 2009; Helweg-Larsen 2009: 540), a joint framework meant to illuminate the prevalence and character of children's violence experiences in the individual Nordic countries and to conduct cross-country comparisons and thereby assess national specific features. The questions previously used in the 1988 Finnish survey and the Danish 2002 survey were implemented in the frame of the joint Nordic questionnaire in order to enable trend analyses of Finnish and Danish trends over the years (see Sariola and Ellonen 2008).

New data sets were, thus, collected in both countries in 2008, and national reports were published in 2008 (Ellonen et al.) and 2009 (Helweg-Larsen et al.). In this article we will use the opportunity to compare these data on adolescents' violence experiences collected by uniform nationwide surveys conducted among ninth-grade students in Finland and Denmark in 2008 based on the Nordic framework for self-administered questionnaires (Helweg-Larsen 2009). The focus in this article is on adolescents' violence experiences at home. We report the prevalence of adolescents' experiences of parental violence at home and analyse correlations between violence exposure and the witnessing of inter-parental violence to a number of psycho-social factors in these two countries. By comparing the prevalence between Denmark and Finland our aim is to identify possible national differences in those factors. Experience of parental violence is defined as exposure to physical violence by the mother or father and/or being witness to physical violence against the mother or father at home.

The article focuses, thus, on descriptive results and does not proceed to explanations. Speculative interpretations are offered, but these should be seen more as suggestions for further research. No detailed hypothesis is presented because of the descriptive nature of the analysis and because the earlier research does not support any specific hypothesis. Earlier national surveys, in 1988 and 2002, should not be seen as comparable because of the 14-year time gap. A recent comparative analysis between Denmark and Finland concerning adolescents' victimization suggests higher victimization rates in Denmark than in Finland, but the focus

in that study is on theft and assault, not violence at home (Enzmann et al. 2010).

Incidents are also systematically disaggregated by gender. Both national reports suggested major gender differences in different types of victimization (Ellonen et al. 2008; Helweg-Larsen et al. 2009). In this article we want to see whether there are significant differences, on the one hand, between Danish girls/boys and Finnish girls/boys and, on the other hand, to see whether the within-country gender-based differences are similar in Denmark and in Finland. Gender-based comparisons are also analysed as descriptive results. Explanations for these possible differences should be analysed in further research.

Data and methods

This study is based on The Finnish Child Victim Survey (2008) and The Danish Youth Health Survey (2008). These surveys covered a wide variety of violence perpetrated against children, especially violence at home and sexual abuse. The Finnish data also included a large number of questions about traditional street violence, peer violence, and internet-related harassment. Data were collected in both countries in 2008, and the questionnaires included similar questions about witnessing and being exposed to physical violence at home. The merged data consist of a representative sample of ninth-grade pupils in Finland ($n = 5,762$) and Denmark ($n = 3,943$).

In Finland, the survey was conducted by the Police College of Finland and in Denmark by the National Institute of Public Health, University of Southern Denmark. In both countries the surveys were based on computer-assisted methods.

In Denmark multimedia computer-based self-administered interviews on lap-tops were used, and in Finland the survey was organized via web pages on the internet. Adolescents answered the questionnaire during school hours. The Finnish adolescents accessed the questionnaire via a web site which included information about the project as well as about violence in general. The survey was administered by teachers in the schools who were all properly instructed by the research team. The Danish survey was conducted in the school classroom where trained interviewers introduced the survey method, and they remained in the classroom while the students completed the questionnaire on individual lap-tops.

The Finnish sampling was made as a stratified cluster sample based on county, the quality of the municipality, and the size of the school. The original sampling included 184 schools with adolescents in the ninth grade, and of those 161 schools participated (88%) and a total of 5,807 respondents. The exact response rate unfortunately cannot be presented, because the variable needed to calculate this (namely the school ID) vanished during the data collection. However, the representative nature of the final data was checked by comparing basic socio-economic factors with other representative studies (see more in Ellonen et al. 2008). Of the total number of respondents, 45 were excluded due to lack of consistency in the answers. In the Danish data a nationally representative sample of 342 schools that also were selected for the 2002 school survey were contacted in the first place. Of those, 122 schools participated (35%). Non-participation was due to the school having no ninth-grade pupils (10%), being too occupied to participate (35%),

and to no response (30%). There were 5,013 ninth-graders in those schools, 4,093 (82%) of whom were present at the time of the survey, and all participated in the survey. Due to lack of consistency in some of the data sets, some responses were excluded from the data (see more in Helweg-Larsen et al. 2009).

The Finnish data used here are a representative sample of mainland Finland and its Finnish and Swedish-speaking ninth-graders. The Danish data are a national representative sample of Danish ninth-grade pupils in the mandatory school system. The final Finnish sample consisted of 2,856 girls and 2,906 boys, and the final Danish data had 1,999 girls and 1,944 boys.

Measures

Both data sets include lifetime prevalence and the 1-year prevalence about being exposed to a target of parental violence. Data on witnessing inter-parental violence only include the 1-year prevalence. In this article we will analyse only the 1-year prevalence from both being exposed to parental violence and witnessing parental violence. Parental violence was similarly measured by Finnish and Danish versions of the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) created by Straus (1979). The scale consists of 14 items starting with parental aggressive verbalization towards the child and increasing to severe violent physical acts towards the child. Participants responded by indicating whether they had experienced such acts (1 = yes) or not (0 = no) during their whole lifetime and during the previous 12 months. Every question referred to a specific act or behaviour so that misinterpreting would be minimal. These 14 items created three summed variables according to the

original CTS measure.¹ Psychological aggression included sulking or refusing to talk, insulting, taunting or swearing at, throwing, hitting, or kicking objects but not hitting the child, and threatening the child with violence. Mild physical violence consisted of acts traditionally seen as forms of corporal punishment: hair pulling, slapping, whipping, smacking. Severe violence consisted of hitting with a fist, hitting with an object, kicking, threatening with a knife or gun, and using a knife or gun. The child was asked separately about being victimized by the mother or father. In the analyses the prevalence of both the different forms of violence and summed variables are presented.

Witnessing violence towards the mother or father was asked in a similar way. Participants responded by indicating whether they had seen or heard specific acts (1 = yes) or not (0 = no) during the previous 12 months directed against their mother or father (separate questions) in their home. The acts in the questions were quite similar to the questions in which the respondents' own experiences were asked about. Psychological aggression included acts like name calling, taunting, or insulting, and threatening with violence. Mild physical violence indicated pushing, shaking roughly, hair pulling, slapping, or smacking, and severe physical violence indicated hitting with a fist, hitting with an object, attacking with a knife, and threatening with a gun.

Background factors were collected in both surveys by a variety of questions. Variables are included in the present

analyses that previously have been shown to be significantly related to risk of violence experiences (Lauritsen et al. 1991, 1992; Finkelhor 1993, 1994; Miethe and Meier 1994; Finkelhor and Asdigian 1996; White et al. 2003; Swahn et al. 2008; Ellonen and Salmi 2011). Associations between different socio-economic factors and violence at home were found in the Finnish 1988 study (Sariola 1990) and in the Danish survey of 2002 (Frederiksen et al. 2008; Helweg-Larsen et al. 2009). Variables that further describe the family such as alcohol consumption and social control/surveillance of the adolescents are included in the analyses. This is in accordance with the results of criminological research that point to the importance of such factors in regard to violence at home (Finkelhor and Asdigian 1996; Ellonen and Salmi 2011). The wordings of the questions, the variables, and possible new categorizations are presented in Table 1. The variables included in the analyses were measured in a similar way in the Finnish and Danish surveys. The only exception concerns questions about alcohol use in the family, which were asked in different ways (Appendix 1). Original questionnaires are also available: the Danish questionnaire in Danish (Helweg-Larsen et al. 2009) and the Finnish questionnaire in Finnish and in Swedish (Police College of Finland 2011).

First the prevalence of being exposed to parental violence is presented for both countries. Second, the prevalence of witnessing parental violence is presented according to the country. Third, the context of being a target of parental violence is explored and compared between the two countries. A previous Finnish study showed that violence occurs more frequently in

¹ CTS is a widely used measure but is also criticized from many perspectives. See more about the criticism, for example in Johnson and Sacco 1995.

Table 1. *Adolescents' experiences of psychological aggression and physical violence by the mother according to gender and country, %*

	Denmark				Finland			Sig. between Denmark and Finland		
	Boys		Girls		Total		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys	
	Boys	Total	Boys	Total	Boys	Total	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys
Sulked or refused to talk	27	28	32	32	12	19	***	***	***	***
Insulted, taunted, sworn at	11	15	20	20	13	22	***	***	***	***
Threw, hit, or kicked objects	3	3	3	3	5	9	ns	***	***	***
Threatened with violence	1	1	2	1	1	2	*	***	***	***
Pushed, shoved, shaken	1	2	3	2	1	3	***	***	**	*
Pulled hair	1	1	1	1	2	3	ns	***	***	***
Smacked	2	2	3	2	1	2	**	***	ns	**
Whipped	1	1	1	1	< 1	1	ns	ns	ns	ns
Battery	1	1	1	1	< 1	1	ns	ns	ns	ns
Hit with fist	1	1	1	1	< 1	1	ns	*	ns	ns
Hit with object	1	1	< 1	1	< 1	< 1	ns	ns	ns	ns
Kicked	1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	ns	ns	ns	ns
Threatened with knife or gun	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	ns	ns	ns	ns
Used knife or gun	1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	< 1	**	ns	ns	ns
<i>n</i>	1,944	1,999	1,944	3,943	2,906	5,762		2,856	4,800	4,905

non-nuclear families and is associated with parental unemployment and short parental education (Sariola 1990; Sariola and Uutela 1992). These factors are included in the present analyses to assess whether these factors are still associated with adolescents' risk of exposure to violence at home and whether there are similar associations in both countries. The contextual analysis of violence might reveal potential national specific risk factors for violence.

The prevalence of adolescents' experiences of violence is presented purely as frequencies of experiences during the past year. Correlations between being exposed to parental violence and witnessing violence towards the mother or father are analysed with cross-tabulations. Associations between exposure to parental violence and background characteristics are analysed by logistic regression analysis and done as an enter model. A logistic model is used because violence experiences as an explanatory variable are not normally distributed. Logistic regression is made separately on the Finnish and Danish data and reported with odds ratios and significance levels. Odds ratios can be read as an indicator of increased or decreased risk of violence experiences. We do not, however, try to explain violence experiences by these factors by drawing causal conclusions between the factors. The purpose of this analysis is descriptive. Many of the analysed characteristics can also be seen as a result of experiencing parental violence. In other words the influence is probably more or less dual, and in order to establish any final causal conclusions we would need longitudinal data. We will, however, show that some characteristics are associated

with experiences of violence at home, which could be seen as risk factors or indicators of the risk of violence.

Results

Exposure to parental violence

In Table 1, the prevalence of acts of psychological aggression or physical violence by the mother is presented. In Denmark the adolescents significantly more often report that in cases of conflicts their mothers sulk or refuse to talk, whereas Finnish adolescents more often report that their mothers throw, hit, or kick objects, or insult them or threaten them with violence. In Denmark 1%–2% report different forms of milder physical violence compared to 2%–3% in Finland. Finnish adolescents report significantly more hair pulling by their mothers than Danish adolescents. Adolescents' experiences of more severe violent acts by their mother do not vary significantly between Denmark and Finland.

More differences are seen when Danish girls are compared with Finnish girls and Danish boys with Finnish boys. Finnish girls report significantly more experiences of insulting, taunting, or being sworn at by their mother and their mother's throwing, hitting or kicking objects, hair pulling and smacking than Danish girls. However, Danish girls report sulking or refusing to talk significantly more than Finnish girls, and similarly Danish boys report more often than Finnish boys that their mothers sulk or refuse to talk in cases of conflicts.

Analysing gender differences within a country, the results suggest that in both countries a higher proportion of girls than boys seem to have experienced almost all of the different acts asked in the questionnaire. The difference is especially clear

in reporting sulking, refusing to talk, insulting, taunting, and being sworn at as forms of psychological aggression by their mother. In Finland the differences between girls and boys are especially notable concerning milder forms of physical violence; 1% of Finnish boys have been pushed, pulled or shaken compared to 5% of Finnish girls.

In Table 2 the occurrences of acts of psychological aggression or physical violence perpetrated by the father are presented. The results are quite similar to the results of violence perpetrated by the mother. In Denmark the adolescents significantly more often report that, in cases of conflict, their fathers sulk or refuse to talk, whereas Finnish adolescents more often report that their fathers throw, hit, or kick objects or threaten them with violence. In Denmark 1%–2% report different forms of milder physical violence compared to 2%–3% in Finland, and Finnish adolescents report significantly more hair pulling by their mothers than Danish adolescents.

When Danish girls are compared with Finnish girls, Finnish girls report significantly more experiences of insulting, taunting, or being sworn at by their fathers and their fathers throwing, hitting, or kicking objects, hair pulling and threatening them with violence than Danish girls. Danish girls report their fathers sulking or refusing to talk significantly more than Finnish girls. Danish boys report more often that their fathers sulk or refuse to talk to, or insult them, taunt them, or swear in cases of conflict than Finnish boys. Finnish boys report experiences of hair pulling by their fathers significantly more often than Danish boys as well as fathers throwing, hitting, or kicking objects in a case of conflict.

Again the gender-based difference within a country is clearer in Finland than in Denmark. In both countries girls report all types of psychological aggression by their father more than boys, but in Finland the difference is pronounced. Girls in Finland also experience pushing, shoving, and shaking, hair pulling, smacking, and battering more often by their fathers than boys. In Denmark girls report more pushing, shoving, and shaking as well as smacking more by their fathers than boys.

In Table 3 the results are summed into three different variables: psychological aggression, mild physical violence, and severe physical violence according to the original CTS. In addition, we have examined our observations more closely from the perspective of gender, and the prevalence of violence is presented separately perpetrated by the mother and father.

It appears that mothers in both countries use psychological aggression more often than fathers. However, the child's gender affects the findings in different ways in Denmark and Finland. Most psychological aggression was experienced by Finnish girls from their mother, and least by Finnish boys from their father. In Finland mothers also use mild physical violence more than fathers, and girls in particular report experiences of mild physical violence by their mother. Danish adolescents, on the other hand, more often report severe physical violence by their mothers than Finnish adolescents.

Risk of experiencing violence at home

Earlier research has suggested that violence occurs more frequently in families presenting other structures than a traditional nuclear family and in families with low socio-economic status (Sariola 1990;

Table 2. *Adolescents' experiences of psychological aggression and physical violence by the father according to gender and country (%)*

	Denmark				Finland			Sig. between Denmark and Finland		
	Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys	
	Girls	Boys	Total		Girls	Boys	Total	Girls	Boys	Total
Sulked or refused to talk	27	21	24	***	16	6	11	***	***	***
Insulted, taunted, sworn at	18	11	15	***	22	10	16	***	*	ns
Threw, hit, or kicked objects	3	2	3	*	8	3	6	***	*	**
Threatened with violence	2	1	2	*	4	2	3	***	*	**
Pushed, shoved, shaken	4	2	3	***	4	2	3	***	ns	ns
Pulled hair	1	1	1	ns	3	2	2	**	***	***
Smacked	3	2	2	*	2	1	2	**	ns	*
Whipped	1	1	1	ns	<1	1	<1	ns	ns	*
Battery	<1	<1	<1	ns	1	<1	1	*	ns	ns
Hit with fist	<1	1	1	ns	1	<1	1	ns	ns	ns
Hit with object	<1	<1	<1	ns	1	<1	<1	ns	ns	ns
Kicked	<1	<1	<1	ns	<1	<1	<1	ns	ns	ns
Threatened with knife or gun	<1	<1	<1	ns	<1	<1	<1	ns	ns	ns
Used knife or gun	<1	<1	<1	ns	<1	<1	<1	ns	ns	ns
<i>n</i>	1,944	1,999	3,943		2,856	2,906	5,762	4,800	4,905	

Table 3. *Adolescents' experiences of psychological aggression, mild physical violence, and severe physical violence by the mother, father, and mother and/or father according to country (%)*

	Denmark			Finland			Sig. between Denmark and Finland		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Sig. between girls and boys	Girls	Boys	Total	Sig. between girls and boys	Total
Psychological aggression									
By mother	38	28	33	***	43	21	32	***	***
By father	32	24	28	***	30	13	21	***	***
By mother or father	43	33	38	***	51	25	38	***	ns
Mild physical violence									
By mother	5	3	4	***	8	3	6	***	***
By father	5	3	4	***	6	3	4	***	ns
By mother or father	8	4	6	***	12	5	8	***	***
Severe physical violence									
By mother	1	1	2	ns	1	1	1	**	*
By father	1	1	1	ns	1	1	1	ns	ns
By mother or father	2	2	2	ns	2	1	2	*	*
<i>n</i>	1,944	1,999	3,943		2,856	2,906	5,762		4,800 4,905

Sariola and Uutela 1992; Daly and Wilson 1996). In the following, the associations between the adolescents' experiences of maternal and paternal psychological aggression and mild physical violence are examined with some specific background factors, separately for Denmark and for Finland. First, we determine whether these characteristics are associated with violence experiences at home. Second, we ascertain whether there are cross-country differences in these associations. As stated earlier, the variables of background characteristics are similar in both countries' data except for the question about alcohol use in the family, which is different but nevertheless used in this analysis. The connections between background factors and experiences of severe physical violence unfortunately cannot be explored due to a limited prevalence of severe violence experiences. If experiences of severe physical violence are combined with experiences of mild physical violence, the results are, however, exactly similar to the results presented in the following analysis that only include experiences of mild physical violence.

Table 4 presents the results of regression analyses based on the Danish data. Girls have a higher risk of experiencing psychological aggression or violence than boys. Living in a non-nuclear family increases the risk of experiencing mild physical violence by the mothers but decreases the risk of experiencing all kinds of paternal aggression and violence. The family's ethnic background, unemployment, or the family's financial situation, evaluated by the young respondents, presents no significant change in the risk of any kind of violence.

Parental alcohol abuse increases all kinds of violence against Danish ninth-graders. Parental fighting also seems to increase

potential aggressive or violent behaviour towards the offspring. Dining together with the family and parents' knowing with whom the respondent is spending his/her free time, as proxy variables of parental social control, are related to a decreased risk of violence experiences. The most evident association can be seen between the confidential nature of respondents' relationships with their parents and violence experiences; those who do not have a confidential relationship with their parents are also more likely to experience violence and aggression from their parents.

In Table 5 the results of similar regression analyses on the Finnish data are presented, and they are quite similar to those in the Danish data. Girls have a greater risk of experiencing maternal aggression or violence and psychological aggression from their father. Living in non-nuclear family settings presents no increased risk of maternal violence. It does, however, decrease the risk of paternal aggression or violence in Finland, too. This may be due to the fact that the second most common family structure after nuclear families is single-mother families. Paternal unemployment increases the risk of violence in Finnish families, whereas maternal unemployment has no such influence. The family's financial situation is not associated with the risk of experiencing parental violence.

In these Finnish data, too, variables concerning a lack of parental social control and witnessing inter-parental violence are related to an increased risk of violence experiences at home. Parental alcohol abuse, however, is not related to any physical violence, only to paternal psychological aggression. These results differ from the Danish results, which may be due to

Table 4. *Logistic regression analysis of Danish adolescents' experiences of psychological aggression or mild physical violence by mother or father during past 12 months, OR.*

	Perpetrated by the mother		Perpetrated by the father	
	psychological aggression	Mild physical violence	psychological aggression	Mild physical violence
Gender				
Boy	1	1	1	1
Girl	1.4	2.2	1.3	1.6
Family structure				
Nuclear family	1	1	1	1
Other family structure	ns	1.7	0.6	0.5
Family ethnicity				
Both born in Denmark	1	1	1	1
At least one born abroad	0.8	ns	ns	ns
Employment of father or mother				
Other situation	1	1	1	1
Unemployed	ns	ns	ns	ns
Family's economic situation				
Good	1	1	1	1
Not good but not bad	ns	ns	ns	ns
Bad	ns	ns	ns	ns
Parental alcohol abuse				
No	1	1	1	1
Yes	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.6
Heard or seen parents quarelling				
Never	1	1	1	1
Daily	2.6	4.0	3.2	4.8
Weekly	2.3	3.7	2.3	2.3
Monthly	1.9	2.4	1.9	2.2
Dining together with the family				
Weekly	1	1	1	1
Monthly	ns	ns	ns	2.6
Very seldom	ns	ns	ns	1.8
Parents know with whom spending free-time				
Always	1	1	1	1
Sometimes	1.7	1.6	1.4	1.8
Almost never	ns	ns	ns	2.8
Confidentiality towards mother or father				
Good	1	1	1	1
Bad	1.7	3.0	1.7	3.3

Table 5. *Logistic regression analysis of Finnish adolescents' experiences of psychological aggression or mild physical violence by mother or father during past 12 months, OR.*

	Perpetrated by the mother		Perpetrated by the father	
	psychological aggression	Mild physical violence	psychological aggression	Mild physical violence
Gender				
Boy	1	1	1	1
Girl	2.7	2.7	2.5	ns
Family structure				
Nuclear family	1	1	1	1
Other family structure	ns	ns	0.5	0.6
Family ethnicity				
Both born in Finland	1	1	1	1
At least one born abroad	ns	2.4	ns	2.1
Employment of father or mother				
Other situation	1	1	1	1
Unemployed	ns	ns	ns	2.6
Family's economic situation				
Good	1	1	1	1
Not good but not bad	1.5	ns	1.3	ns
Bad	ns	ns	ns	ns
Seen parents drunk				
Never	1	1	1	1
Few times per year	ns	ns	1.2	ns
Monthly	ns	ns	1.4	ns
Weekly	ns	ns	1.7	ns
Heard or seen parents quarelling				
Never	1	1	1	1
Daily	3.5	3.3	3.0	4.1
Weekly	2.5	1.6	2.6	2.3
Monthly	1.7	ns	1.7	ns
Dining together with the family				
Weekly	1	1	1	1
Monthly	ns	1.8	ns	ns
Very seldom	ns	1.8	ns	ns
Parents know with whom spending free-time				
Always	1	1	1	1
Sometimes	1.2	ns	ns	ns
Almost never	ns	ns	1.4	2.7
Confidentiality towards mother of father				
Good	1	1	1	1
Bad	2.0	2.3	2.0	2.5

differences in the question formulations in the two surveys. The definition of alcohol abuse was wider in the Finnish questionnaire than in the Danish, and therefore no conclusions can be made based on this.

Witnessing violence at home

In addition to being an actual target of parental violence at home, children may witness violence against their parents at home, which may have potential serious influences on children's well-being (Edleson 1999). In Tables 6 and 7 the statistics for adolescents witnessing violence towards their mother or father at home are presented according to gender and country. The acts in the questions were very similar to those asked in questions concerning the child's own actual experiences, and therefore similar kinds of summed variables have been made from those individual acts. Both individual acts and summed variables are presented in the table.

It is important to notice that the perpetrator in these violent acts can be anyone. It is not necessarily violence between the child's parents. The perpetrator can also be another child or maybe a relative. Here the data only report whether adolescents have seen these acts being carried out towards their mother or father during the last 12 months.

Danish adolescents more often report hearing psychological aggression towards their mother than Finnish adolescents. Also, experiences of seeing severe physical violence against their mothers are more often reported by Danish adolescents. In both countries, and once again in Finland particularly, girls have seen or heard more psychological aggression or physical violence towards their mother than boys. When cross-country comparisons are

made, Danish girls report significantly more experiences of hearing psychological aggression towards their mother than Finnish girls. The occurrences of physical violence experiences against the mother are more or less the same between Danish and Finnish girls. Danish boys also report hearing more psychological aggression towards their mothers than Finnish boys, but Danish boys have also seen more mild and severe physical violent acts against their mothers than Finnish boys.

In Table 7 the prevalence of adolescents witnessing psychological aggression or physical violence towards their father at home is presented according to gender and country. Danish adolescents report more experiences of hearing psychological aggression towards their father than Finnish adolescents. Danish adolescents also report seeing more severe violence against their father than Finnish adolescents, whereas Finnish adolescents report seeing violence against their father significantly more often than Danish adolescents. The results and gender differences are similar in hearing or seeing psychological aggression or physical violence towards the father at home as hearing or seeing psychological aggression or physical violence towards the mother.

Correlation between being a target of violence and seeing violence

Previous studies have shown that violence tends to cluster in families: in families where parents are violent towards their children, violence between parents is also prevalent (Osofsky 2003; Mossige and Stefansen 2007). Figure 1 presents the correlations between Finnish and Danish adolescents' experiences of physical violence and witnessing violence. Every fourth

Table 6. *Adolescents' experiences of hearing or seeing violence towards their mother according to gender and country (%)*

	Denmark				Finland				Sig. between Denmark and Finland			
	Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys		Sig. between girls and boys	
	Girls	Boys	Total		Girls	Boys	Total		Girls	Boys	Total	
Psychological aggression	48	35	41	***	28	14	21	***	***	***	***	***
Called names	47	34	40	***	26	13	19	***	***	***	***	***
Ridiculing or belittling	16	10	13	***	16	7	11	***	ns	***	***	***
Threatened with violence	6	5	6	*	5	3	4	***	*	***	***	***
Mild physical violence	6	5	5	*	6	3	5	***	*	***	***	***
Pulling hair	5	4	5	ns	2	1	2	*	***	***	***	ns
Slapping	6	5	5	ns	2	2	2	*	***	***	***	***
Beating	5	4	4	ns	1	1	1	ns	***	***	***	***
Severe physical violence	5	4	5	ns	5	3	4	*	*	***	***	***
Hit with a fist	5	4	5	ns	2	2	2	ns	***	***	***	***
Hit with an object	5	4	4	ns	1	1	1	ns	***	***	***	***
Threatened with a knife	4	4	4	ns	<1	1	1	ns	***	***	***	***
Attacked with a weapon	4	4	4	ns	<1	1	1	ns	***	***	***	***
<i>n</i>	1,944	1,999	3,943		2,742	2,718	5,460					

Table 7. *Adolescents' experiences of seeing violence towards their father according to gender and country (%)*

	Denmark			Finland			Sig. between Denmark and Finland		
	Girls	Boys	Total	Sig. between girls and boys	Girls	Boys	Total	Sig. between girls and boys	Total
Psychological aggression	38	28	33	***	20	9	14	***	***
Called names	38	28	33	***	19	9	14	***	***
Ridiculing or belittling	10	7	8	**	10	4	7	***	**
Threatened with violence	3	3	3	ns	4	2	3	**	ns
Mild physical violence	3	3	3	ns	4	2	8	**	***
Pulling hair	2	2	2	ns	1	1	1	ns	ns
Slapping	3	3	3	ns	2	1	1	**	***
Beating	2	2	2	ns	1	1	1	ns	***
Severe physical violence	3	3	3	ns	3	2	3	ns	***
Hit with a fist	3	3	3	ns	2	2	2	ns	***
Hit with an object	3	3	3	ns	1	1	1	ns	***
Threatened with a knife	2	2	2	ns	1	1	1	ns	***
Attacked with a weapon	2	2	2	ns	<1	<1	<1	ns	***
<i>n</i>	1,944	1,999	3,943		2,742	2,718	5,460		

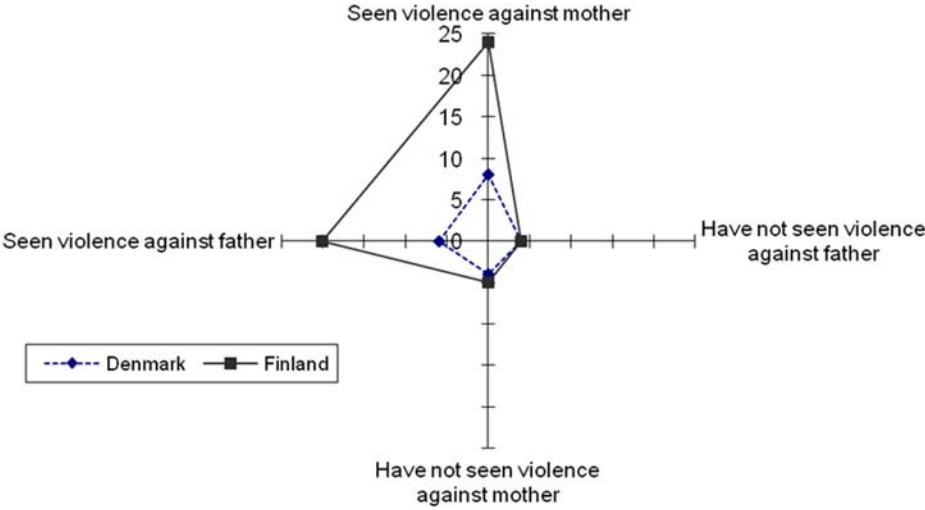


Figure 1. Adolescents' experiences of maternal or paternal physical violence according to experiences of seeing violence towards their mother and father at home (%).

adolescent in Finland who has witnessed violence against his/her mother at home has also experienced violence committed by his/her mother. Every fifth of those who have witnessed violence against his/her father has experienced violence committed by his/her father. Of those adolescents who have not witnessed violence against their mother at home, 5% have experienced violence perpetrated by their mother, and 4% of those who have not seen violence against their father have experienced violence perpetrated by their father. The association between seeing violence at home and being a target of violence at home is, thus, evident in Finnish families.

In Danish families the association is, however, not so evident. Of those who have witnessed violence against their mother, 8% have been exposed to maternal violence compared to 4% among those who have not witnessed violence against the mother. Of those who have witnessed violence against their father, 6% have also experienced violence perpetrated by the

father compared to 4% of those who have not witnessed violence against their father. A significant association between witnessing violence and being exposed to violence was, thus, found concerning mothers but not fathers.

The perspective here is somewhat limited: the associations should also be examined by mixing the victims and perpetrators. If a respondent has seen violence against his/her mother committed by his/her father, he/she has probably also experienced violence inflicted by the father, but not necessarily by the mother. In this analysis, we did not want to limit the adolescents' experiences of seeing violence against the mother or father purely on parental violence, because our national analysis revealed that adolescents see violence against their mother or father perpetrated also by many other people than their spouses, such as other children in the family (Ellonen and Sariola 2008; Helweg-Larsen et al. 2009). In this analysis we wanted to include all experiences of seeing

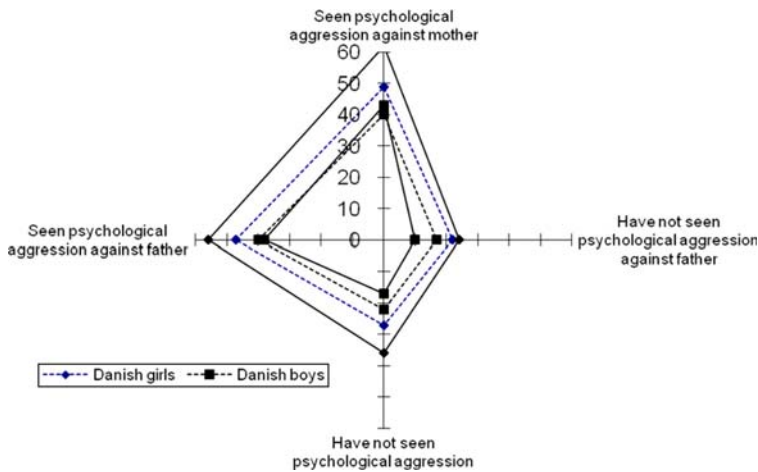


Figure 2. Girls' and boys' experiences of maternal or paternal physical violence according to experiences of seeing or hearing psychological violence towards their mother or father at home (%).

violence against the mother or father at home and to analyse the correlation of those experiences and being a target of parental violence in general, in order to examine whether violence in Finnish and Danish families is a family-level phenomenon to any extent. The analysis thus suggests that to some extent physical violence is a family-level phenomenon in Denmark too, but most definitely it seems to be a family-level phenomenon in Finland.

In Figure 2, similar associations are presented of experiences of psychological aggression. These associations are presented separately for boys and girls in both countries, because earlier analyses suggested major gender differences in a cross-country context. Again, the association between seeing or hearing violence against the mother or father and the respondents' own experiences of psychological aggression by the mother or father is clear, also among Danish adolescents this time. The major difference presented earlier between Danish and Finnish boys in experiencing psychological aggression by the father consists thus of those boys who

have not heard psychological aggression directed against their father but who have experienced psychological aggression from their father.

Discussion

In this article Danish and Finnish adolescents' experiences of violence at home were explored and compared with each other. We found that despite corporal punishment having been criminalized in Finland since 1984 and in Denmark since 1997, young people in both countries still experience physical violence at home. Physical violence is still used in cases of conflict in the families, although experiences of psychological aggression are much more common in both countries. Eight per cent of Finnish 15–16-year-olds and 6% of Danish 15–16-year-olds had experienced mild physical violence during the previous 12 months carried out by their mother and/or father, 38% of psychological aggression and 2% of severe physical violence in both countries. There are thus no major differences between the experi-

ences of Danish and Finnish adolescents when girls and boys are considered together. In addition, compared to previous studies (Sariola 1990; Helweg-Larsen and Larsen 2002), the prevalence is lower and experiences of various severe forms of violence are rarer in both countries.

In both countries there are, however, differences between girls and boys in the prevalence of reported violence experiences, girls reporting more experiences of psychological aggression and physical violence than boys. The difference is especially seen in Finland; Finnish girls report significantly much more violence experiences than Finnish boys. The within-country gender difference is thus significantly higher in Finland than in Denmark. This raises a question concerning whether the number of experiences really is that different between Finnish girls and boys, or whether the differences rely on gender differences in the perception of specific behaviour as being violent. Another possibility is that girls may be more willing than boys to report their experiences in such a survey. This interpretation is supported by the findings of a study which compared police-reported and child victim survey data in Finland (Kuoppamäki et al. 2011). According to this study, although girls reported significantly more violent incidents than boys in a victimization survey, cases against boys were reported to the police more frequently than cases against girls. It is thus possible that girls in Finland are more sensitive at detecting family violence than boys and, at the same time, the social environment does not recognize the violence against girls as easily as violence against boys. However, these questions cannot be answered exclusively by cross-sectional quantitative data and

should thus be investigated more carefully by qualitative methods.

When comparing Finnish girls with Danish girls and Finnish boys with Danish boys, the clearest difference is in boys' answers about experiencing psychological aggression by their parents. Danish boys report much more psychological aggression by both their mother and father than Finnish boys. Again, based on this analysis we cannot be sure that the number of experiences is actually so different. Related to gender differences within Finnish adolescents, this result may also reveal that Finnish culture teaches boys to be more tolerant of aggressive behaviour both compared to Finnish girls and to boys from other countries. Whatever the reason, these kinds of gender differences are to be addressed by national policies.

In addition to a person's own victimization experiences, adolescents' experiences of hearing or seeing violence against their mother and father were explored and compared. According to the analysis, Danish adolescents more often report seeing and hearing psychological aggression as well as severe violence towards their mothers and fathers. Finnish adolescents, on the other hand, more often report seeing mild physical violence towards their fathers. The Finnish data show a stronger association between witnessing physical violence at home and being exposed to physical violence at home than the Danish data do. This suggests that physical violence is more cumulative at the family level in Finland than in Denmark. This result is also supported when adolescents' experiences of severe physical violence by parents are analysed; when severe physical violence is used against adolescents in their homes in Finland, it is more often done by both

parents than in Denmark, where the perpetrator is more often only one of the parents. This is another important result to be taken into account when national policies are considered.

In a previous Finnish study (Sariola 1990; Sariola and Uutela 1992), a strong correlation was found between various socio-economic background factors and the risk of violence at home, and this result is in line with many other studies (Stith et al. 2009). However, in our 2008 data, 'traditional' socio-economic factors are no longer strongly associated with violence experiences. Violence is more strongly associated with psycho-social factors in a family, such as the parents' social control/supervision of their adolescents and parental problems. These associations are found both in Finland and Denmark. Compared to the previous study that found a higher prevalence of family violence in lower socio-economic groups, our results suggest that the level of living in general has risen in the Nordic countries and that social norms are more equally distributed; hence, violence is no more a special problem in families of lower socio-economic status. Violence is nowadays more or less occurring in all kinds of families, and violence seems to be more closely associated with psycho-social factors within the family. We can only try to speculate about the reasons for that. It is possible that the intensified pace of work-life, especially in middle-class occupations, is reflected in family life in a new way that creates conflicts within families more than before. For example, Stith et al. (2009) found in their meta-analysis on the risk factors of child maltreatments that personal stress and family conflicts are strong predictors of maltreatment. Therefore,

psycho-social problems in the family should be taken into account when preventing violence towards adolescents, e.g. by strengthening family education programmes and supporting families at risk.

This comparative analysis of adolescents' violence experiences at home thus provides interesting results. On the one hand, there is the similarity of the Nordic countries, where in general there are no major differences in adolescents' experiences of violence at home. At the same time our analysis reveals significant national specific features concerning family violence, which should be seen as important themes for further research. The analysis also showed that survey data is suitable for cross-country comparisons and this kind of joint international frameworks provides valuable knowledge for crime prevention strategies.

References

- Balvig F, Kyvsgaard B (2006). Volden i Danmark 1995 og 2005. Available at: http://www.dkr.dk/ftp_files/WBDOX/PDF/dkr_mat_106.pdf (Accessed 28.9.2011).
- Daly M, Wilson MI (1996). Violence against Stepchildren. *Current Directions of Psychological Science* 5:77–81.
- Edleson JL (1999). Children's Witnessing of Adult Domestic Violence. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 14:839–870.
- Ellonen N, Kääriäinen J, Salmi V, Sariola H (2008). Lasten ja nuorten väkivaltakokemukset [Experiences of Violence among Children and Young People]. Tampere: Police College of Finland.
- Ellonen N, Salmi V (2011). Poly-victimization as a Life Condition: Correlates of Poly-victimization among Finnish Children. *Journal of Scandinavian Studies in Criminology and Crime Prevention* 1:20–44.

- Ellonen N, Sariola H (2008). Väkivallan näkeminen perheessä [Seeing violence at home]. In: Ellonen N, Kääriäinen J, Salmi V, Sariola H (eds). Lasten ja nuorten väkivalta-kokemukset [Experiences of Violence among Children and Young People]. pp. 68–80. Tampere: Police College of Finland.
- Enzmann D, Haen Marshall I, Killias M, Junger-Tas J, Steketee M, Gruszczynska B (2010). Self-reported Youth Delinquency in Europe and Beyond: First Results of the Second International Self-Report Delinquency Study in the Context of Police and Victimization Data. *European Journal of Criminology* 7:159–183.
- EU ICS Working Paper (2007). Methodology of the European Crime and Safety Survey. Available at: http://www.europeansafetyobservatory.eu/downloads/WP_methodology.pdf (accessed 15 June 2010).
- Finkelhor D (1993). Epidemiological Factors in the Clinical Identification of Child Sexual Abuse. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 17:67–70.
- Finkelhor D (1994). Current Information on the Scope and Nature of Child Sexual Abuse. *The Future of Children* 4:31–53.
- Finkelhor D, Asdigian NL (1996). Risk Factors for Youth Victimization; Beyond a Life-styles/Routine Activities Theory Approach. *Violence and Victims* 11:3–19.
- Frederiksen ML, Helweg-Larsen K, Larsen HB (2008). Self-reported Violence amongst Adolescents in Denmark: Is Alcohol a Serious Risk Factor? *Acta Paediatrica* 97(5):636–640.
- Helweg-Larsen K (2009). Framework for Nordic Youth Surveys on Child Sexual Abuse and Exposure to Violence Outside and in the Family. The Joint Nordic Criminal Prevention Project 2006–2007. Available at: http://www.norden.org/sv/publikationer/publikationer/2009-540/at_download/publicationfile (accessed 15 June 2010).
- Helweg-Larsen K, Larsen HB (2002). Unges Trivsel År 2002. En undersøgelse med fokus på seksuelle overgreb i barndommen [Danish Youth Survey 2002. Risk of Sexual Abuse in Childhood and Adolescence]. Copenhagen: Statens Institut for Folkesundhed.
- Helweg-Larsen K, Schütt NM, Larsen HB (2009). Unges Trivsel År 2008. En undersøgelse med fokus på seksuelle overgreb og vold i barndom og tidlig ungdom [Danish Youth Survey 2002. Risk of Child Sexual Abuse and Violence at Home and Outside the Home]. Copenhagen: Statens Institut for Folkesundhed.
- Helweg-Larsen K, Sundaram V, Curtis T, Larsen HB (2004). The Danish Youth Survey 2002: Asking Young People about Sensitive Issues. *International Journal of Circumpolar Health* 63(2):147–152.
- Johnson H, Sacco V (1995). Researching Violence against Women: Statistics Canada's National Survey. *Canadian Journal of Criminology* 37:281–304.
- Kivivuori J (2007). Delinquent Behaviour in Nordic Capital Cities. Helsinki: Scandinavian Research Council for Criminology & National Research Institute of Legal Policy in Finland.
- Kuoppamäki S-M, Kääriäinen J, Ellonen N (2011). Physical Violence Against Children Reported to the Police: Discrepancies Between Register-Based Data and Child Victim Survey. *Violence and Victims* 26(2):257–268.
- Lauritsen JL, Laub JH, Sampson RJ (1992). Conventional and Delinquent Activities: Implications for the Prevention of Violent Victimization among Adolescents. *Violence and Victims* 2:91–108.
- Lauritsen JL, Sampson RJ, Laub JH (1991). The Link between Offending and Victimization among Adolescents. *Criminology* 29:265–292.

- Miethe TD, Meier RF (1994). *Crime and Its Social Context: Toward an Integrated Theory of Offenders, Victims, and Situations*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Mossige S, Stefansen K (2007). Vold og overgrep mot barn og unge. Norsk institutt for forskning om oppvekst, velferd og aldring. Raport 20. NOVA: Oslo.
- Osofsky JD (2003). Prevalence of Children's Exposure to Domestic Violence and Child Maltreatment: Implications for Prevention and Intervention. *Child and Family Psychological Review* 6:161-170.
- Peltonen K, Ellonen N, Bøving Larsen H, Helweg-Larsen K (2010). Parental Violence and Adolescent Mental Health. *European Child & Adolescent Psychiatry* 11:813-822.
- Police College of Finland. Frågeformulär. Available at: <http://www.poliisiammattikorkeakoulu.fi/poliisi/poliisioppilaitos/home.nsf/pages/05456D9A303DDD31C225770B0032F2C7> (accessed 15 June 2010).
- Sariola H (1990). Lasten väkivalta ja seksuaaliväkiolemukset [Children's Experiences of Violence at Home and Sexual Abuse of Children in Finland]. Helsinki: The Central Union for Child Welfare.
- Sariola H, Ellonen N (2008). Perheessä koettu väkivalta [Violence experienced at home]. In: Ellonen N, Kääriäinen J, Salmi V, Sariola H (eds). *Lasten ja nuorten väkivaltakokemukset* [Experiences of Violence among Children and Young People]. pp. 57-67. Tampere: Police College of Finland.
- Sariola H, Uutela A (1992). The Prevalence and Context of Family Violence against Children in Finland. *Child Abuse & Neglect* 16: 823-832.
- Siren R, Kivivuori J, Kääriäinen J, Aaltonen M (2007). Suomalaisten kokema väkivalta 1980-2006 [Violence Experiences of Finnish People 1980-2006]. Helsinki: National Research Institute of Legal Policy. Available at: <http://www.optula.om.fi/38586.htm> (accessed 15 June 2010).
- Stith SM, Liu T, Davies C, Boykin EL, Alder MC, Harris JM, Som A, McPherson M, Dees JE (2009). Risk Factors in Child Maltreatment: A Meta-Analytic Review of the Literature. *Aggression and Violent Behavior* 14:13-29.
- Straus MA (1979). Measuring Intra Family Conflict and Violence: The Conflict Tactics Scale. *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 41:75-88.
- Swahn M, Bossarte R, Sullivent E (2008). Age of Alcohol Use Initiation, Suicidal Behaviour, and Peer and Dating Violence Victimization and Perpetration among High-Risk, Seventh-Grade Adolescents. *Pediatrics* 121:297-305.
- Töyrä A, Wigerholt J (2008). The Swedish Crime Survey 2007. Victimization, Fear of Crime and Public Confidence in the Criminal Justice System. English Summary of Brå Report No 2008:3. Stockholm: Swedish National Council for Crime Prevention.
- UNICEF (2010). Nordic Study on Child Rights to Participate 2009-2010. UNICEF: Innolink Research.
- van Dijk, van Kesteren J, Smit P (2007). Criminal Victimization in International Perspective. Key Findings from the 2004-2005 ICVS and EU ICS. Tilburg University, Onderzoek en beleid 257. The Hague: Boom Juridische uitgevers.
- Watson PD, Denny SJ, Adair V, Ameratunga SN, Clark TC, Crengle SM, Dixon RS, Fa'asisila M, Merry SN, Robinson EM, Sporle AA (2001). Adolescents' Perceptions of a Health Survey Using Multimedia Computer-assisted Self-administered Interview. *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health* 25:520-524.

White M, Grzankowski J, Paavilainen E, Åstedt-Kurki P, Paunonen-Ilmonen M (2003). Family Dynamics and Child Abuse and Neglect in Three Finnish Communities. Issues in Mental Health Nursing 24: 707-722.

NOORA ELLONEN
Police College of Finland
PL 123
33721 Tampere
FINLAND
Email: noora.ellonen@poliisi.fi

Appendix 1. *Questions of background characteristics in Danish and Finnish surveys and new categorizations made for analysis*

QUESTIONS AND ORIGINAL ANSWER ALTERNATIVES	NEW CATEGORIZATIONS FOR ANALYSIS
Are you a girl or a boy? 1 Girl, 2 Boy	
Who of the following is living in the same house with you? 1 Father, 2 Mother, 3 Stepfather, 4 Stepmother, 5 Mother's boyfriend, 6 Father's girlfriend, 7 Sisters, 8 Brothers, 9 Stepsisters, 10 Stepbrothers, 11 somebody else	o Nuclear family, 1 other family structure
Are you born in Finland/Denmark? 1 Yes 2 No	
In what country is your father born? 1 He is born in Finland/Denmark, 2 He is born in some other country, 3 He is born in some other country, which I don't know, 4 I don't know	
In what country is your mother born? 1 She is born in Finland/Denmark, 2 She is born in some other country, 3 She is born in some other country, which I don't know, 4 I don't know	o Both parents born in Finland/denmark, 1 At least other parent born abroad
Is your father working at the moment? 1 Yes 2 No	
If not, why? 1 He is unemployed, 2 He is in a sick pension, in hospital or sick, 3 He is on other pension, 4 He is home-dad, 5 He studies, 6 He is dead, 7 Some other situation	
Is your mother working at the moment? 1 Yes 2 No	
If not, why? 1 She is unemployed, 2 She is in a sick pension, in hospital or sick, 3 She is on other pension, 4 She is home-dad, 5 She studies, 6 She is dead, 7 Some other situation	o other situation, 1 he/she is unemployed (perpetrator)

Appendix 1. *Continued*

QUESTIONS AND ORIGINAL ANSWER ALTERNATIVES	NEW CATEGORIZATIONS FOR ANALYSIS
What do you think about your family's financial situation?	
1 Very good, 2 Quite good, 3 Some financial troubles, 4 A lot of financial troubles, 5 I can't say	0 Good, 1 Not good and not bad, 3 Bad
How often have you seen your parents clearly drunk in the past 12 months (Finland)	
1 Never, 2 Once, 3 Few times, 4 Once a month, 5 Once a week, 6 Several times a week	0 Never, 1 Few times per year, 2 Once a month, 3 Weekly
Have you experienced alcohol abuse in your nuclear family (Denmark)?	0 No, 1 Yes
How often have you heard you parents quarrel during the past 12 months?	
1 Several times a week, 2 Once a week, 3 Once a month, 4 Few times per year, 5 Almost never	
How often do you have joint dinner with your parents or the adults you live with?	
1 Every day, 2 Several times a week, 3 Once a week, 4 Once a month, 5 More seldom than once a month	0 Never, 1 Daily, 2 Weekly, 3 Monthly
Does your parents/parent know, who you spend your free-time with?	
1 Always, 2 Sometimes, 3 Seldom or never, 4 I don't go out with my friends	0 Always, 1 Only sometimes
How easy it is for you to talk to your mother, father, stepmother, stepfather etc (separate questions), when you have troubles or worries?	
1 Very easy, 2 Quite easy, 3 Quite difficult, 4 Very difficult, 5 Question is not suitable for me	0 Good, 1 Bad